

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 27, 1990

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: RABBI JOSEPH B. GLASER

SUBJECT: SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO
WITHDRAW ITS SUPPORT OF POL POT AND THE KHMER
ROUGE; URGES THE PRESIDENT TO WELCOME THE
DALAI LAMA TO THE WHITE HOUSE

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
SARAH DECAMP	ORG	90/07/27		
REFERRAL NOTE: <u>99DOS</u>				<u>C 90/08/20</u>
REFERRAL NOTE: <u>R 90/08/06</u>				<u>A 90/08/13</u>
REFERRAL NOTE:				
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COMMENTS:

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: 4500 4800 4400

PL MAIL USER CODES: (A) (B) (C)

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*ACTION CODES:      *DISPOSITION      *OUTGOING      *
*                  *                  *CORRESPONDENCE:*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION *A-ANSWERED      *TYPE RESP=INITIALS *
*C-COMMENT/RECOM      *B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL *      OF SIGNER      *
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE      *C-COMPLETED      *      CODE = A      *
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET *S-SUSPENDED      *COMPLETED = DATE OF *
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC*      OUTGOING      *
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *      *      *
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE      *      *
*X-INTERIM REPLY      *      *
*****

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9017427

Date August 15, 1990

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush

From: Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser

Date: July 23, 1990

Subject: Supports Government's decision to withdraw support of
Pol Pot & the Khmer Rouge; urges welcome for the Dalai Lama

WH Referral Dated: August 6, 1990
NSCS ID# (if any): 162129

 The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

 A draft reply is attached.

 A draft reply will be forwarded.

 A translation is attached.

 X An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

 We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

 The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

 Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

Blair Hub
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

August 13, 1990

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser
Executive Vice President
Central Conference of American Rabbis
192 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016-6801

Dear Rabbi Glaser:

I have been asked to reply to your July 23, 1990 letter to the President regarding recent revisions in U.S. policy toward Cambodia and a possible visit to the White House by the Dalai Lama.

The United States policy toward Cambodia seeks a comprehensive negotiated settlement with three objectives: (a) preventing a Khmer Rouge return to power; (b) ensuring self-determination for the Cambodian people through free and fair elections; and (c) verifying the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops. Our overall objective is to help restore independence and peace to a country which has seen more than its share of tragedy. We believe this can only be accomplished through a comprehensive settlement that would lead to a ceasefire, arms cutoff, and establishment of an appropriate transitional authority to create a neutral political environment in Cambodia until free and fair elections can be held under U.N. auspices. The failure to achieve a comprehensive settlement, in our view, would leave a situation of continued fighting that would provide the Khmer Rouge its best opportunity to seize power again.

As you have noted, the Secretary announced revisions to our Cambodia policy July 18. We are not changing our fundamental objectives. We believe these steps will help encourage flexibility among the key participants to this conflict. We need to convince the Cambodian parties to end the ongoing bloodshed and join the political process. We are already pressing China to use its influence with the Khmer Rouge to accept a comprehensive political settlement.

We are now expanding our ongoing dialogue with Vietnam to include Cambodia, the first meeting of which took place August 6. We already regularly discuss resolving the POW/MIA issue, refugee resettlement, and other humanitarian issues. We have upon occasion talked with Vietnamese officials about

Cambodia, at the Paris Conference for example. Holding regular discussions will allow us to make clear to Vietnam the need for flexibility on its part, as well as on the part of the Phnom Penh regime, to achieve a settlement. We would also pursue direct contact with the Phnom Penh regime if this would advance our goal of free and fair elections. That opportunity has not yet presented itself, but we are keeping the possibility under consideration.

In addition, we have decided that we can no longer support the CGDK resistance coalition holding Cambodia's U.N. seat so long as that coalition includes the Khmer Rouge. We want the seat to be occupied by a freely elected government, and pending that development, by Cambodians firmly committed to free and fair elections. I would point out that although we -- along with the vast majority of U.N. members -- supported CGDK U.N. credentials in the past, we do not recognize, support, or otherwise deal with the resistance coalition as a whole, because it includes the Khmer Rouge.

Along with these steps, we are easing licensing restrictions on humanitarian programs for Vietnam and Cambodia. We will also be implementing the program legislated by the Congress to aid children within Cambodia in coordination with our ongoing program of assistance to the camps along the Thai-Cambodian border, the populations of which are approximately half children.

We believe these steps will complement our intensified diplomatic activity of the past year. We have been working closely with key governments, including the other four permanent members of the United Nations Security Council most recently in Paris July 16-17, to help bridge differences on the major unresolved issues in a negotiated settlement.

In Paris, the Perm Five representatives achieved significant consensus on very difficult issues involving military functions and near agreement on transitional administrative arrangements leading to elections. We believe that an enhanced role for the United Nations is vital to help achieve a neutral environment in which the Cambodian people themselves can choose their future government in free and fair elections held under UN administration. The Five meet next in New York at the end of August to discuss the election process, protecting human rights, and guaranteeing Cambodia's independence.

Let me assure you that this Administration is unalterably opposed to a return to power by the abhorrent Khmer Rouge -- whose legacy of death and destruction from the 1970s must never be forgotten. We believe that a comprehensive agreement represents the best means of controlling the Khmer Rouge. In our view, any settlement will require strong and effective measures, supported by the major outside powers, to ensure that the Khmer Rouge can never regain control and subject the Cambodian people once again to the horrors of the past. These measures should include preventing the discredited senior Khmer Rouge leaders most responsible for heinous crimes against the Cambodian people, including Pol Pot, from playing any role in Cambodia's political future.

At the same time, the leaders of the Phnom Penh regime share this unacceptable background; many are former Khmer Rouge officials -- including Prime Minister Hun Sen, Communist Party leader Heng Samrin, and National Assembly leader Chea Sim. These former Khmer Rouge leaders represent an illegitimate regime imposed and sustained for the past decade by foreign force of arms; the Phnom Penh regime is also acquiring a significant reputation for corruption and factionalism.

The United States Government has not recognized either the National Government of Cambodia (formerly the Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea) -- which includes the unacceptable Khmer Rouge -- or the Vietnamese-imposed regime in Phnom Penh, the People's Republic of Kampuchea (which now calls itself the State of Cambodia). Our position has been to support Prince Sihanouk and the two Cambodian Non-Communist Resistance groups in their struggle for a free and independent Cambodia. In a durable settlement, we believe that the Non-Communists, under the leadership of Prince Sihanouk and Son Sann, would play an important role as a democratic alternative to the Khmer Rouge as well as the Vietnamese-installed Phnom Penh regime. Without the Non-Communists, the situation in Cambodia is likely to be one of continued military struggle between these two implacably hostile communist factions, with the Khmer Rouge the likely beneficiary.

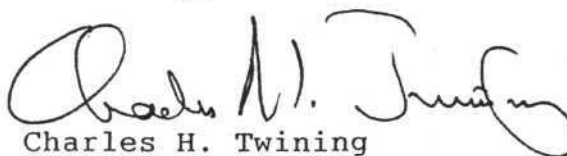
Your suggestion of a White House meeting for the Dalai Lama during his planned visit to the United States later this year will be carefully considered as the time of the visit approaches. As always, our admiration for His Holiness as a person and as a religious leader is not in question. But we do not want this respect to be misconstrued as recognition of an

independent Tibet. Nor do we want to provide any encouragement for renewed violence, which would seriously undermine prospects for reconciliation.

The United States, like other governments, considers Tibet to be a part of China. We do not recognize the Dalai Lama as leader of a government in exile. Nonetheless, we have told the Chinese that we would welcome a dialogue between the PRC and the Dalai Lama, which would be an important step toward resolving the problems of Tibet.

For further information, I have enclosed a copy of the statement from the discussions held by representatives of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council in Paris in July regarding a Cambodian settlement as well as a Department of State publication regarding Cambodia.

Sincerely,



Charles H. Twining
Director
Office of Vietnam, Laos
and Cambodia

Enclosures:

1. Statement on Cambodia - Paris, July 17, 1990.
2. Gist on Cambodia.

THE WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

REFERRAL

9017427

'90 AUG-06 6:38 PM
AUGUST 6, 1990

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:

DIRECT REPLY, FURNISH INFO COPY

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 162129

MEDIA: LETTER, DATED JULY 23, 1990

TO: PRESIDENT BUSH

FROM: RABBI JOSEPH B. GLASER
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN
RABBIS
192 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK NY 10016

SUBJECT: SUPPORTS THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION TO
WITHDRAW ITS SUPPORT OF POL POT AND THE KHMER
ROUGE; URGES THE PRESIDENT TO WELCOME THE
DALAI LAMA TO THE WHITE HOUSE

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

162129

Founded in 1889

אגוד הרבנים המתקדמים

CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

192 LEXINGTON AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016-6801

FAX (212) 689-1649 (212) 684-4990

Office of the Executive Vice President

July 23, 1990

The Honorable George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

9017427

'90 AUG-06 6:39 PM

Dear Mr. President:

I am deeply grateful that my Government has finally withdrawn its support of the mass murderer, Pol Pot and his Khmer Rouge.

We have done more than a few things of which we have no right to be proud, including standing idly by while six million of my fellow Jews were being massacred by the Nazis, but I think that in terms of degree of sinfulness, nothing quite matches our support of Pol Pot, global strategies notwithstanding.

I realize that it was easier for you to do this than it would have been for previous administrations because of what is happening to the Soviet Union, but also realize that you had to take some kind of a hard decision vis-a-vis relations with China. I hope this presages a decision to welcome the Dalai Lama to the White House or, at least, not to oppose a Congressional invitation to address the joint Houses.

Congratulations, Mr. President.

All good wishes.

Shalom,

Rabbi Joseph B. Glaser

Exec. VP

JBG:sk

cc: Honorable James Baker,
Secretary of State

OFFICERS:

Rabbi Samuel E. Karff, President
Houston, TX

Rabbi Walter Jacob, Vice President
Pittsburgh, PA

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Rabbi Jacob R. Marcus, Honorary President
Cincinnati, OH

Sarah Polansky

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

C0156

DATE RECEIVED: MARCH 07, 1989

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA

SUBJECT: APPEALS FOR HELP IN BRINGING AN END TO THE
CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET
AND TO ENCOURAGE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO
FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
	ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
BRENT SCOWCROFT	ORG	89/03/07		C 89/03/07
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:	A	89/03/15		C 89/03/15
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				
REFERRAL NOTE:				

see attached memo DJ

COMMENTS: ORIGINAL TO GEORGE VAN ERON
TELEGRAM CONVEYED THROUGH MR. TENZIN TETHONG,
SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE DALAI LAMA IN
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:T INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

UNCLASSIFIED
(Classification)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT
TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 8905601

Date April 5, 1989

For: Mr. Philip Hughes
Executive Secretary
National Security Council
The White House

Reference:

To: President Bush **From:** Dalai Lama
Date: March 06, 1989 **Subject:** Appeals for ending Human Rights violations in Tibet.

Referral Dated: March 15, 1989 **ID#** 014274
(if any)

The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State

Action Taken:

- ☐ A draft reply is attached.
- ☐ A draft reply will be forwarded.
- ☐ A translation is attached.
- ☐ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.
- ☒ We believe no response is necessary for the reason cited below.
- ☐ The Department of State has no objection to the proposed travel.
- ☐ Other (see remarks).

Remarks: Richard Schifter, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs responded on March 27, 1989 to an identical message from the Dalai Lama to Secretary James Baker III.


Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED

(Classification)



EX
United States Department of State

Assistant Secretary for Human Rights
and Humanitarian Affairs

Washington, D. C. 20520

March 27, 1989

Dear Mr. Tethong:

Thank you for conveying the Dalai Lama's message to the Secretary expressing his sadness at the March 5 events in Lhasa. We in the United States have an abiding concern for the human rights of the Tibetan people. In a public statement on March 9, the spokesman for the Department of State indicated that, while we recognize the right of the Chinese Government to maintain order, we objected to the unwarranted use of lethal force.

We hope for the restoration of calm and the resumption of efforts for a dialogue between the People's Republic of China and the Dalai Lama.

Sincerely,

Richard Schifter

Mr. Tenzin Tethong,
Special Representative of
His Holiness the Dalai Lama,
The Office of Tibet,
1511 K Street, N.W., Suite 739,
Washington, D.C.

8905601

'89 MAR-15 11:29 PM

T H E W H I T E H O U S E O F F I C E

REFERRAL

MARCH 15, 1989

TO: DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ACTION REQUESTED:
APPROPRIATE ACTION

DESCRIPTION OF INCOMING:

ID: 014274
MEDIA: TELEGRAM, DATED MARCH 6, 1989
TO: PRESIDENT BUSH
FROM: HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA
SUITE 739
1511 K STREET
WASHINGTON DC 20005

SUBJECT: APPEALS FOR HELP IN BRINGING AN END TO THE
CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET
AND TO ENCOURAGE THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO
FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS

PROMPT ACTION IS ESSENTIAL -- IF REQUIRED ACTION HAS NOT BEEN
TAKEN WITHIN 9 WORKING DAYS OF RECEIPT, PLEASE TELEPHONE THE
UNDERSIGNED AT 456-7486.

RETURN CORRESPONDENCE, WORKSHEET AND COPY OF RESPONSE
(OR DRAFT) TO:
AGENCY LIAISON, ROOM 91, THE WHITE HOUSE, 20500

SALLY KELLEY
DIRECTOR OF AGENCY LIAISON
PRESIDENTIAL CORRESPONDENCE

8

see attached

14274

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4-031523S065 03/06/89

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2026284123 POM TDRN WASHINGTON DC 98 03-06 0454P EST: 11

PMS PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

WHITE HOUSE DC 20500

THIS MESSAGE IS CONVEYED THROUGH MR. TENZIN TETHONG, SPECIAL
REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS HOLINESS THE DALAI LAMA IN WASHINGTON DC.

PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH,

YESTERDAY MARCH 5 1989, CHINESE SECURITY FORCES AGAIN SHOT DEAD MANY
TIBETANS WHO WERE PEACEFULLY DEMONSTRATING IN LHASA.

I AM DEEPLY SADDENED BY THE LATEST BLOODSHED IN TIBET. I HAVE ALWAYS
TRIED TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN MY
COUNTRY. ONCE AGAIN I MUST APPEAL FOR YOUR HELP IN BRINGING AN END TO
THE CONTINUING HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN TIBET AND ENCOURAGING THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT TO FIND A PEACEFUL SOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

THE DALAI LAMA

1511 K ST STE 739

WASHINGTON DC 20005

1659 EST

EX

062554
00156

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 7, 1989

Dear Mr. Nichols:

The President asked me to have my staff take a look at your paper regarding Tibet, which was sent to the President by George Pfau. I want to give you our reactions.

It is clear that you are on top of your subject and are very well-informed on the Dalai Lama's proposals for a more autonomous Tibet. This Administration emphatically believes that the best course to resolving the tensions over Tibet is through a dialogue between the Beijing government and the Dalai Lama. We have been disappointed with China's quibbling over the Dalai Lama's Salzburg proposals and the continued imposition of martial law in Tibet.

We continue to draw a line, however, between urging dialogue and restoration of human rights in Tibet and intruding the U.S. Government directly into internal Chinese affairs. At no time has the United States recognized or advocated the establishment of an independent or even semi-autonomous Tibet, nor has any other government done so. China considers Tibet to be part of its sovereign territory and I expect that Beijing would react sharply and negatively to ideas that suggest anything less than full sovereignty.

We have pursued quiet diplomacy with respect to Tibet, urging the Chinese to reopen the region to foreign visitors and media, to talk with the Dalai Lama, and to refrain from the use of force. The recent tragedy around Tiananmen Square has complicated our efforts, but we will continue to do all that we can to persuade Beijing to listen to reason.

Sincerely,


Brent Scowcroft

Mr. Alan Nichols
100 Green Street
San Francisco, California 94111

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

GEORGE HAROLD PFAU, JR.
100 CALIFORNIA STREET, SUITE 320
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94111

July 11, 1989

President George Bush
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear George;

Enclosed is an interesting proposal from my friend, Alan Nichols, relating to one of his areas of expertise, Tibet and Central Asia.

I have known Alan for years and have already recommended him for a role in your administration. He has long served the Republican Party as former Chairman of the Republican County Central Committee here in San Francisco and as President of the Young Republicans of the United States years ago. He has served as Chairman of innumerable Republican campaigns including Nixon's campaign for Governor in Northern California, Cap Weinberger's effort for Attorney General, President Ford in his re-run, and other successful State, local and Gubernatorial candidates. He is still a member of the Republican County Central Committee. Although he is an outstanding attorney and heads a law firm that specializes in international transactions, his real special area of interest is Asian Countries. That dates back to his college days when his father was the education adviser to General MacArthur in Japan, and Alan was President of Stanford's Institute of International Relations and founder of the Model United Nations program there.

He has written books and lectured on Asian cultures and pursuant to his studies, has travelled extensively since the 1950's in India, Korea, Japan, China, Tibet Central Asia and the bordering areas of Tibet (e.g., Nepal, Sikhim Ladak).

page 2

In fact, he was in many of these areas even before you and I went to China! He has visited with the Dalai Lama and has had the opportunity to spend time in Tibetan refugee camps as well as Chinese Liberation Army camps in Tibet and Central Asia.

I hope you will consider this idea and give Alan a chance to air his ideas with your experts. It makes some sense to me but then what do I know about it. For sure, Alan knows a lot.

Sincerely,



George H. Pfau, Jr.

cc: Alan Nichols

P.S. Alan's address is 100 Green Street, San Francisco, CA. 94111

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
ORM OPTICAL DISK NETWORK

ID# 062554

___ Hardcopy pages are in poor condition (too light or too dark).

___ Remainder of case not scanned.

___ Oversize attachment not scanned.

☒ Report not scanned.

☒ Enclosure(s) not scanned.

___ Proclamation not scanned.

___ Incoming letter(s) not scanned.

___ Proposal not scanned.

___ Statement not scanned.

___ Duplicate letters attached - not scanned.

___ Only table of contents scanned.

___ No incoming letter attached.

___ Only tracking sheet scanned.

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___ Bill not scanned.

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Comments:

TIBET

A PRESIDENTIAL DIPLOMATIC OPPORTUNITY

Central Asia, for centuries a strategic geopolitical center of world power, is in a state of anxious flux. Tibet has always been, and remains, the southern keystone.

Tibet now is in revolt. The winds of change blow over Central Asia from the border powers - Russia, China, Pakistan, India, and even Afghanistan. There is a role for American diplomacy, an opportunity for President Bush. China and the Soviet Union seek their own reproachment along their northern borders of Central Asia. The long-lived conflict between China and India may not prove irreconcilable along the southern borders of Central Asia.

After the appropriate groundwork is laid, the President without risking vital American interests, could be instrumental in sealing a major component of peace in Central Asia - namely in Tibet.

Tibet (through the Dalai Lama), China and India could accommodate their mutual and conflicting interests. With American participation, support and persuasion, an agreement could be reached. China's geopolitical strategic interests, Tibet's prospects outlined in the Dalai Lama's Salzburg

Principles, and India's perceived security risks, could all be accommodated with a partially independent Tibet. In light of China's current difficulties at home, China might welcome a face-saving solution to Tibet that would guarantee her own interests and protection and relieve the potential political, economic and military strain of the occupation and control of Tibet. Furthermore, it presents an opportunity for China to regain a measure of world respect.

A more autonomous Tibet would satisfy Tibetans, both in exile and at home. A less constrained Tibet would reduce the strain on China's resources and lessen India's military border investment. Tibet, as it has for hundreds of years, could again be a buffer zone for the benefit of all the great powers in the region, and at the same time maintain its ancient and unique religion and culture.

In light of the Dalai Lama's statements and a possible (if unlikely at this time) return of China to its basic democratization policy, it is even possible that a Tibetan settlement could result in a democratic form of government, which in the long run would be more stable and consistent with United States' principles. China's presence in Tibet is considered a direct threat by India, so that anything that reduces that threat not only relieves China of the burden, but India of the fear.

What are the alternatives? A United Nations peace-keeping mission might be involved as a trigger for world power on Tibet's sensitive borders. China, in such an instance, could still maintain a military presence within Tibet, or even a Chinese quasi-protectorate as to foreign affairs. Alternatively, Tibet could become a United Nations supervised, demilitarized zone. It is possible under these and any other mutually agreeable solutions that the Dalai Lama would return to Tibet which would assure stability and Tibetan acceptance.

There is a worldwide sympathy for Tibet and a recognition that Tibet as a part of Central Asia is critical to the long-run peace of that area. In modern times the United States has consistently deplored the violation of human rights in Tibet while recognizing China's historical, economic and political predominance there. Several European legislatures and the United States Congress have passed resolutions in support of Tibet's people, in opposition to human rights violations and, directly or indirectly, advocating a freer Tibet's.

Since President Bush has regained the initiative in Europe, the stage is now set for a dramatic advance of peace in Asia, especially at its center core. The President has an opportunity for a major diplomatic contribution to stability and peace in Tibet and Asia and for establishing an American presence in an area where it has never been before.

Obviously such an idea needs to be explored without committing the United States or in any way embarrassing the President and the Administration if it is unsuccessful. I propose to follow up on this idea as a Special Assistant to the President without official status and with no formal relationship with governmental agencies (whether the Departments of State and Defense or the Security Counsel, the C.I.A., or otherwise).

The initial steps would be: (1) Informally discuss the idea with appropriate scholars and knowledgeable people in the United States, Europe, United Nations, India, Tibet, China, and the staff of the Dalai Lama as to reactions and suggestions; (2) Prepare a confidential background memoranda with alternative goals and proposed processes for the President's review; (3) Upon the advise of the President, recommend the appointment of the Special Presidential Envoy to formally initiate discussions on his behalf, provided the project is feasible and assured of success.

UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

TRANSMITTAL FORM

S/S 9110580

Date July 31, 1991

FOR: Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

REFERENCE:

To: President Bush

From: Lithang Dorje of the Dhotoe Tibetan Welfare Assoc.

Date: May 20, 1991

Subject: President Bush's meeting with the Nobel Prize Laureate
His Holiness the Dalai Lama

WH Referral Dated: June 13, 1991
NSCS ID# (if any):

The attached item was sent directly to the
Department of State.

ACTION TAKEN:

☐ A draft reply is attached.

☐ A draft reply will be forwarded.

☐ A translation is attached.

☒ An information copy of a direct reply is attached.

☐ We believe no response is necessary for the reason
cited below.

☐ The Department of State has no objection to the
proposed travel.

☐ Other (see remarks).

REMARKS:

Linda Lupton
Director
Secretariat Staff

UNCLASSIFIED



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

July 25, 1991

Mr. Lithang Dorje
Chairman
Thotoe Tibetan Welfare Association
P. B. No. 959
Kathmandu, Nepal

Dear Mr. Dorje:

I am replying on behalf of President Bush to your letter of May 20 concerning U.S. policy toward Tibet.

After careful consideration, the President decided to meet privately with the Dalai Lama on April 16. The meeting was a sign of the great respect the President has for His Holiness as a religious leader and eloquent spokesman for the human rights of Tibetans; it did not represent any change in our position on the status of Tibet.

The question of whether the status of Tibet should be adjusted in some way is not one for the U.S. to determine. The only way that questions of that sort can truly be resolved is through discussions among the parties involved. We have encouraged both the Chinese authorities and the followers of the Dalai Lama to resume the discussions they carried on through much of the 1980's.

The U.S. Government remains deeply concerned about respect for human rights in Tibet, and for Tibetans elsewhere in China. We have raised this issue with Chinese authorities repeatedly, at both senior and working levels. Secretary Baker raised the subject of human rights abuses in Tibet during talks with Foreign Minister Qian in Beijing in February 1989 and in Washington in November 1990. National Security Advisor Scowcroft and Deputy Secretary Eagleburger discussed Tibetan issues with Chinese leaders during their visits in July and December 1989, as did Assistant Secretary Schifter in December 1990, Assistant Secretary Solomon in March 1991, and Under Secretary Kimmitt in May 1991.

The Department of State will give careful consideration to the utility of raising Tibetan human rights issues in appropriate international fora in the future. We support the efforts of nongovernmental organizations to raise such issues in the UN Human Rights Commission and elsewhere in the UN system. In the meantime, we will continue to consult with other concerned countries on human rights in Tibet with the goal of encouraging the Chinese to improve human rights conditions in Tibet and begin dialogue with the Dalai Lama's representatives.

The U.S. Government will continue to do all it can to encourage respect for the dignity of man and internationally recognized human rights in Tibet, as in the rest of China.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Kent M. Wiedemann", written in a cursive style.

Kent M. Wiedemann, Director
Office of Chinese and
Mongolian Affairs

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S/S 9110580



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

June 13, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR:

Mr. William F. Sittmann
Executive Secretary
National Security Council Staff
The White House

SUBJECT:

Alerting NSCS on Presidential
Correspondence

Enclosed is the original of a letter to President Bush from Lithang Dorje of the Dhotoe Tibetan Welfare Association which is transmitted for your information.

This correspondence was received in the Information Resources Management Section of the Executive Secretariat on June 12, 1991. A copy has been assigned to the appropriate bureau for action.

Charles G. Jackson Jr.

Director, S/S-IRM
Information Resources Management Section
Executive Secretariat
647-2991



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DHOTOE TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION

P. B. No. 959
Kathmandu
NEPAL

Ref No. 106

Date : May 20th, 1991

His Excellency President George Bush,
White House
Washington,
U.S.A.

Ref.: AN EXTENSION OF GRATITUDE OF THANKS AND A PLEA

Your Excellency,

Most humbly and respectfully, we the Dhotoe Tibetan Welfare Association members would like to extend to Your Excellency our deeply felt gratitude of thanks on behalf of our people for kindly granting the opportunity offered to our temporal leader, the Nobel Peace Prize Laureate His Holiness the Dalai Lama to have audience with Your Excellency. This friendly honourable gesture naturally proves the norm of your true democratic government under your dynamic leadership.

Moreover, we are deeply grateful to Your Excellency for your continued support for the human rights in Tibet in specific and world in general. We request to Your Excellency to kindly give your support in Tibet's issue in the forthcoming U.N. Assembly with your unbiased view as we have the right to claim for our lost country that is being unduly captured by China. We can in no way ever relinquish our struggle to achieve our goal. We don't claim for anything that is out of our right.



འཇམ་དཔལ་ལོ་ནོལ་གྱི་བྱུང་བ་ལྟར་གྱི་ཐོབ་ཐང་ལྟར་

DHOTOE TIBETAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION

P. B. No. 959
Kathmandu
NEPAL

Ref No.

Date :

We have great faith in Truth as the Truth will always prevail. We have the full confidence that your overwhelmed worldwide reputation will spontaneously be higher and higher and praised by large for your kind support in the issue of Tibet with your appropriate judgement.

We, therefore, are hopefully waiting for your development of your understanding towards the fundamental problems of the six million captive Tibetans. We have a great hope in Your Excellency that your response to this humble plea will be to the optimum level as you are the highly respected universal judge of the human rights and various prevailing problems that have emerged from political scenario.

Thanking you in advance for your further consideration , we are ,

We beg to remain Your Excellency,

Yours Truly,

LITZHANG DORJE
Lithang Dorje, the Chairman

DAKPA DORJE
Dakpa Dorje, the Vice-chairman
on behalf of Dhotoe Tibetan
(Khampa) members and people.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 21, 1992

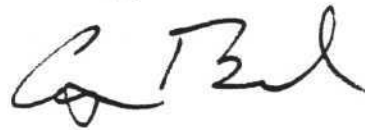
Your Holiness:

Thank you for your recent letter reporting the resumption of dialogue between your brother and the authorities in Beijing. I share your hope that Beijing has taken the initiative to resume the talks in order to "explore possibilities." I urge you and your colleagues to do everything possible to reinvigorate these discussions.

I want you to know that we are also urging the Chinese to use the vehicle of dialogue constructively to ease tension and work toward peaceful results. As you well know, the United States remains committed to respect for the universal standards of human rights that apply the world over.

Thank you again for your letter, as well as your prayers and best wishes.

Sincerely,



His Holiness
The Dalai Lama
Thekchen Choeling
McLeod Ganj 176219
Kangra District
Himachal Pradesh

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

July 23, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR STATE DEPARTMENT SECRETARIAT

FROM: JAMES R. KEITH *JK*

SUBJECT: Dispatch Of Presidential Letter To The Dalai Lama

Please find enclosed a letter from the President to the Dalai Lama. We request that the letter be dispatched to the US Embassy in New Delhi, India and that Embassy personnel deliver the letter to the Dalai Lama's representative in New Delhi. A previous letter from the President to the Dalai Lama dated November 3, 1991 was dispatched in this same way.

Thank you very much.

7/21/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

02 JUL 14 P 1: 19

July 14, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Letter to the Dalai Lama Concerning Resumption of
a Dialogue with Beijing on Tibet

Purpose

To respond to the Dalai Lama's letter to you and to urge reinvigoration of dialogue with Beijing on Tibet.

Background

The Dalai Lama wrote to you to warn of continuing volatility in Tibet and to report that Beijing invited the Dalai Lama's brother, Gyalo Thondup, to resume a long-stalled dialogue on Tibet. A meeting between the Chinese and the Dalai Lama's brother took place in Beijing in June. Doug Paal received a general readout of the meeting from the Dalai Lama's Special Envoy in Washington on July 8, when he took the envoy and Elsie Walker to breakfast.

Although there has been little concrete progress from the dialogue between Thondup and the Chinese over the years, there is at least some hope that violence in Tibet is less likely while the two sides are talking to each other. The response to the Dalai Lama at Tab A urges that he do everything possible to reinvigorate the dialogue, and explains that we are urging Beijing to do the same.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to the Dalai Lama at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Response to the Dalai Lama
Tab B Incoming Correspondence

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

5247
REDO

July 9, 1992

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR BRENT SCOWCROFT

THROUGH: DOUGLAS H. PAAL *TH*

FROM: JAMES KEITH *JK*

SUBJECT: Response to the Dalai Lama Regarding Tibet

The Dalai Lama wrote to the President to warn that the situation in Tibet remains volatile and to report that the Dalai Lama's brother, Gyalo Thondup, responded positively to Beijing's invitation to "explore possibilities" about Tibet. The Dalai Lama's Special Envoy, Lodi Gyari, met with Doug on July 8 to report very generally on Thondup's meeting in Beijing.

The response at Tab A urges that the Dalai Lama seek to reinvigorate the dialogue between Beijing and Thondup in the hope that violence in Tibet can be contained.

Concurrences by: *by JK RSC* Nicholas Rostow, *JK* Nancy Bearg Dyke *JK*

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

Tab I Memorandum to the President
Tab A Response to the Dalai Lama
Tab B Incoming Correspondence



Special Envoy of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

June 29, 1992

Mr. Douglas Paal
National Security Council
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington D.C. 20506

Dear Doug,

Enclosed is a letter from H.H. the Dalai Lama for President Bush which I have been asked to deliver. Would you kindly see that the President receives this letter. A copy for you is attached to the original. Thank you.

I recently accompanied His Holiness on his visit to Brazil, Chile, Argentina and Venezuela. His Holiness was well received throughout the entire trip.

Incidentally, I just spoke with Mr. Gyalo Thondup in Hong Kong. Mr. Thondup just returned from China. His visit on the whole has been quite useful. I would like to meet with you next week to personally brief you about his visit and other relevant matters. My assistant will phone you about arranging a meeting after the 7th of July as will be out of the office until that time.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Lodi G. Gyari'.

Lodi G. Gyari
Special Envoy of H.H. the Dalai Lama



THE DALAI LAMA

Caracas; June 22, 1992
Cisneros Residence

President George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to you on the eve of my departure for India after a very successful trip to South America, including a stop in Rio de Janeiro for Eco '92. The depth of concern expressed by the individuals I met, not only for the plight of the Tibetans, but also for the broader social issues of our times, renews my belief that by working together we can solve these vexing problems.

Unfortunately, the situation inside Tibet remains volatile. Ill-will engendered by 43 years of Chinese occupation continues to escalate in the hearts of the Tibetan people. Despite the failure of the Chinese government to respond positively to any of our past initiatives, I am continuing my efforts to open a channel of communication with them.

Very recently, the Chinese government contacted my brother, Gyalo Thondup, and asked that he come to Beijing to "explore possibilities." While I cannot be certain that anything concrete will emerge from the meeting, in the hope of advancing the interests of the Tibetan people in even a small way, I have authorized him to make the trip. He is in China at the moment. I will inform you of the results of his efforts whatever the outcome.

I would like to thank you for signing into law last year's Congressional resolution acknowledging Tibet's status as an occupied country. Your actions significantly bolstered the morale of Tibetans everywhere. At the same time, Mr. President, the Tibetan people, particularly those inside Tibet, were deeply hurt by the United States' failure to support the Tibetan resolution at the February meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva.



PHOTOCOPY
MISC. HANDWRITING

THE DALAI LAMA

I am encouraged, however, to learn from Lodi Gyari, my Special Envoy in Washington, D.C., that some of your senior aides have indicated a willingness to be more supportive of our efforts to advance human rights issues at the United Nations. The commitment of the American people to protect fundamental human rights and liberties, particularly when threatened by the excesses of authoritarian regimes, provides me with confidence that these shared goals have forged an immutable alliance between our peoples.

My prayers and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,

8358



Special Representative of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

Staff

November 12, 1991

General Brent Skowcroft
National Security Advisor
National Security Council
439 Old Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear General Skowcroft:

I hope this letter will find you in good health. I am writing in connection with Kalon Gyalo Thondup's visit to Washington, D.C. from December 2-6th which will be the first in many years. I was wondering whether you could meet him. I have also written to Mr. Douglas Paal to meet with Kalon Thondup.

Kalon Gyalo Thondup, as you know is the second-eldest brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and currently the Chairman of our Kashag (Cabinet). On many occasions he has dealt with the Chinese leadership through the many difficult years of our relationship and has had extensive dealings with the U.S. Administration.

I feel such a meeting would be mutually beneficial and I hope you will be able to meet him. I am enclosing herewith an official profile of Kalon Thondup for your information. I look forward to hearing from you on this.

I am happy to inform you that His Holiness had a very successful visit to the U.S. and I am sure you are informed about His latest initiative which was stated during His Yale University statement.

With my best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Lodi G. Gyari
Special Envoy of
H. H. the Dalai Lama



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THE OFFICE OF TIBET

241 EAST 32ND STREET, NEW YORK, NY 10016

Kalon Gyalo Thondup

Kalon (Minister) Gyalo Thondup, Chairman of the Kashag (Cabinet) of the Tibetan Government-in-exile, is travelling to the United States of America and Canada for the first time in several years.

Kalon Gyalo Thondup is the second-eldest brother of His Holiness the Dalai Lama. He was born in 1928 in the northeastern Tibetan province of Amdo. In 1944 he travelled to China to study Chinese language and political science.

He travelled to India in 1952 with the aim of gaining the Indian Government's support against the Chinese invasion of Tibet. While in India, he directed the Tibetan resistance movement against the invading Chinese forces.

In 1959, when His Holiness escaped to India and established the headquarters of the Tibetan Government-in-exile in Mussoorie, a hill-station in the north of the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, Kalon Thondup was named the External Affairs Minister. In this position, which he held until 1969, he was instrumental in the adoption of three U.N. General Assembly resolutions on Tibet.

Since 1979, Kalon Thondup, a China expert, has acted as a liaison between Dharamsala and Beijing in an effort to find a peaceful solution to the Tibetan issue. At the same time, his role has also been that of counsellor to His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

In June 1991, he was elected by the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies (Tibetan Parliament-in-exile) to a five-member Tibetan Cabinet in Dharamsala, headquarters of the Tibetan Government-in-exile.



Special Representative of
His Holiness The Dalai Lama

May 6, 1991

President George H. Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

His Holiness the Dalai Lama instructed that I convey His concern about your health. He prays and wishes you a complete and speedy recovery. We are very relieved to hear that you have returned from the hospital and I will convey that welcome news to His Holiness.

Sincerely,

Lodi G. Gyari, Special Envoy of
His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama



THE DALAI LAMA

April 17, 1991

Your Excellency,

I want to thank you for the opportunity to meet with you yesterday at the White House. I am especially appreciative of the fact that this was made possible in spite of objections and contrary advice from some quarters.

The United States is the most powerful country today. It is my hope that your nation exercise this power to promote human values and democracy in the world. My belief is that the core of our human character is gentle and compassionate. You are a leader with tremendous responsibilities and burdens, and yet I was moved by your warmth and gentleness.

The situation in Tibet is grave, and it is my hope that all of us can do something effective to end human suffering and save a threatened culture. May I keep you and your administration informed of any developments in this regard.

I was very glad that Gen. Scowcroft was able to be with us during my brief presentation.

In concluding, please convey my warm regards to Mrs. Bush for her hospitality and the book on famous Millie.

With my prayers and best wishes,

Sincerely,